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MONDAY, MARCH 20, 1922

WHOLE No. 415

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WHOLE No. 415

ET TANDEM EUBOICIS CUMARUM ADLABITUR ORIS¹

Where did Aeneas, in Vergil's story, come to land at the time of his visit to Cumae? The description of his landing, in the beginning of Aeneid 6, includes no designation of the place where it occurred, beyond the vague phrase *Euboicis Cumarum oris*. These 'Euboean coasts of Cumae' offered many landing-places, for the territory of Cumae had extended to the East as far as Puteoli, and to the South included the entire promontory of Misenum, until Agrippa detached the Portus Misenum when he selected it as a site for a naval station². Vergil's phrase, then, allows the reader to seek the place of disembarkation not only on the coast of the Tyrrhenian Sea, where the hill of Cumae rises close to the strand, but also in some inlet of the Sinus Cumanus, as the Bay of Naples was significantly named. The lack of precision shown by Vergil here is said to be characteristic of him. Boissier says³:

Virgile dépeint les lieux le moins qu'il peut. Seulement nous pouvons être sûrs que ce qu'il en dit est toujours d'une vérité scrupuleuse.

Heinze has noted the same trait of indifference⁴:

Der Ort als Lokal der Handlung spielt bei Vergil dieselbe geringe Rolle wie in der antiken erzählenden Poesie überhaupt. . . . Es lässt sich schwer entscheiden ob er selbst sich ein klares Bild der Lokalität gemacht hat.

Of Campania Vergil must have had a clear mental picture, but so, he no doubt thought, had his readers, to many of whom it was a familiar second home; it was known to all as the site of frequented resorts and of conspicuous public works of great magnitude, the naval stations at Portus Iulius and Portus Misenum. It would, perhaps, be natural for the poet, not much interested in accuracy of topography, to be even less accurate than usual in the Campanian part of his poem.

Besides the words which stand as the title of this paper, three Vergilian passages referring to the landing-place are to be mentioned; no one of them is perfectly exact.

(1) 6.697: stant sale Tyrrheno classes. These words of Aeneas to Anchises are intended to give

assurance that the ships are *safe*, in *Italy* at last, rather than to tell just where they are. Anchises had not asked that; he had said (694), Quam metui ne quid Libyae tibi regna nocerent! In the circumstances, then, it is not possible to say that the phrase *sale Tyrrheno* is necessarily a reference to the beach outside the gulf; the waters of any inlet of the Tyrrhenian Sea might be called Tyrrhenian, not inaccurately.

(2) 5.813. Tutus quos optas portus accedet Averni. Neptune's promise to Venus that Aeneas shall reach safely 'the harbor of Avernus' is not a proof that Aeneas landed at Portus Iulius or at Baiae, as the line quoted just above (6.697) is not sufficient evidence to prove that he landed on the outer beach. Probably Portus Averni means simply 'the haven of the land where Avernus is', Avernus being mentioned because it was destined to be an important place in the development of the story of Aeneas.

(3) 6.174: inter saxa virum <i.e. Misenum> spumosa immerserat unda. There is some ground for the belief that this passage does refer to a locality that may be identified: rocks foaming with sea-water are a part of the outer basin of the Portus Misenum, and do not belong to any other place on 'the coasts of Cumae'⁵. If there is here a genuine bit of local color, it is evidence that Vergil imagined Aeneas's camp to be on the coast inside the Bay of Naples, for Aeneas and Achates found the body of Misenum as they walked from the Sibyl's cave to the station of the ships; if the ships had been on the outer coast, their path would not have taken them to the place *inter saxa* that later bore the dead man's name.

Turning from poetry to history, we find that in ancient times, as far back as records go, the approach to Cumae for travellers by sea was through one of the ports of the Sinus Cumanus. At first that port was Dicaearchia (Puteoli); later, when Dicaearchia became independent of Cumae, Baiae was the usual harbor⁶. The coastline of the Tyrrhenian Sea near Cumae has not changed with time as the coasts of the bay have changed, at Puteoli and elsewhere⁷; and to-day that outside beach is an inhospitable place, without harbors, and with dunes hemming it in from the cape of Misenum past Cumae to Licola⁸. There is in that region just one place that might possibly have been used as a harbor, the lagoon now called Lago del Fusaro, anciently called Acherusia, a pool south of Cumae, close to the sea, separated from it by a narrow strip of sand⁹, and united with it by a

¹This paper was read at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, at Hunter College, April 23, 1921.

²For the facts of topography and history relating to the localities with which this paper is concerned, I have relied mainly on J. Beloch, *Campanien im Altertum*² (Breslau, 1800). The value of the book is enhanced by the fact that it incorporates, along with the historical material, scientific publications, such as official Italian geological surveys.

³Nouvelles Promenades Archéologiques, 125 (Paris, Hachette, 1899).

⁴Epische Technik³, 343, (Leipzig, 1915).

⁵Beloch, 106.

⁶Beloch, 17, 90, 181, 191.

⁷Beloch, 124. ⁸Beloch, 26.

⁹Seneca, Epp. 55, describes the beach between the sea and the lagoon as being like a narrow road: hinc mari, illinc lacu, velut angustum iter, cluditur.

canal. In some editions of Baedeker's Guide to Southern Italy this lagoon is said to be probably the ancient harbor of Cumae, but I have not anywhere found corroboration of this statement. Beloch (157) not only speaks of Cumae as situated 'on a coast without a harbor', but says outright that 'Cumae possessed no harbor' (451). Furthermore, when he treats of the Lago del Fusaro, and its canal (188-189), he gives no opinion as to the exact date and purpose of the canal. If there were good authority for the idea that the lagoon by means of the canal was made a harbor for Cumae, it seems likely that Beloch would at least have mentioned it.

For boats of the Homeric type, however, a harbor, in the sense of a safe anchorage, was of course not needed; such boats could apparently be drawn up on almost any beach; and, if the beach of Cumae proved to be exposed, Aeneas's boats could even perhaps have been dragged across the narrow 'road' of sand into the Lago del Fusaro¹⁰. Vergil, who was a good antiquary, may, therefore, have had in mind a Homeric beaching of the ships, in spite of the absence of a harbor, and it might have occurred on the outside coast, in spite of the custom of travellers in Vergil's own time. Indeed, the inherent probability of a landing near the hill of Cumae is so great that it would hardly be questioned, were there not extant a version of the story of Aeneas in which the landing-place is clearly inside the Sinus Cumanus.

According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.53.3), the Trojans disembarked at Portus Misenus, and this same story is apparently told by the author of the Origo Gentis Romanae, and by Ovid. Dionysius says that Aeneas, when he came to Campania, landed in a fine deep harbor, named for Misenus who died there. These words naturally refer to the Portus Misenus. The passage in the Origo Gentis Romanae¹¹ 9.6 dealing with this subject is less clear, but 'a promontory in Baian territory' is mentioned, and it might be Misenum, indeed could hardly be any other.

Ovid's account of Aeneas's travels is in the Metamorphoses. We read there that Aeneas, after leaving Sicily, sailed to Pithecussae. Then we come upon these lines (14.101-106):

Has¹² ubi praeteriit, et Parthenopeia dextra
moenia deseruit, laeva de parte canori
Aeolidae tumulum, et loca feta palustribus undis,
litora Cumarum, vivacisque antra Sibyllae
intrat, et ad Manes veniat per Averna paternos
orat.

'When he had passed this place and had left the walled town of Parthenope on his right, on the left-hand side he landed at the hill of the tuneful son of Aeolus, and in a region abounding in marshy pools, the shores of Cumae, and entered the cave of the long-lived Sibyl, and prayed that he might go through Avernus to the abode of his father's spirit'.

Ovid here says, it seems, that Aeneas, as he sailed, had Naples (*Parthenopeia moenia*) on his right and on

his left the tumulus of Misenus—if *laeva de parte* is equivalent to *laeva* (no other meaning is apparent). On a boat going from Pithecussae straight to the beach beside the hill of Cumae, the passengers of course would have Misenum as well as Naples on the right; but a boat entering the Bay of Naples has Misenum on the left, and it remains on that quarter as the boat rounds the promontory northward towards Baiae or Puteoli, while Naples is then, roughly speaking, on the right. Somewhere inside the promontory, then, Ovid puts the landing; the precise place is not clear because the structure of the sentence is ambiguous. Where does the principal clause begin? In the translation given above, placing the landing at the hill of Aeolus's son, the principal clause is regarded as beginning with *laeva de parte*, but it would be difficult to prove that Ovid meant it so; indeed the 'zeugma' is rather harsh whereby *tumulum*, as well as *loca* and *antra*, is taken as an object of *intrat*. *Tumulum* and *loca* may belong with *deseruit*, in the temporal clause, and *litora* may be the first word of the main clause; if the passage is read thus, Ovid says that Aeneas passed (*deseruit*) the hill of Misenus before he entered 'the coasts of Cumae and the Sibyl's cave', landing probably at Baiae. It may even be argued that the principal clause begins with *et loca feta* and that therefore only *tumulum*, besides *moenia*, is governed by *deseruit*, *loca* going with *intrat*¹³. Also, some editors of Ovid omit *et* before *loca*¹⁴ (the word is missing in some manuscripts), and others bracket all the words between *deseruit* and *loca*. We find the words thus bracketed in Haupt's edition and in the Teubner text of Merkel (1912), but not in the Teubner text of Ehwald (1919). Merkel makes no comment. Haupt has a note, saying that the idea which this passage, without the excision, expresses, could arise only from an ignorance of the topography and of the legend which one should not impute to Ovid. But is this true? If travellers in Ovid's time, and long before, regularly landed at Baiae when going to Cumae, no ignorance of topography is involved if Ovid imagined that Aeneas landed there; and, as for the legend, Ovid's account is in harmony with that given by Dionysius, placing the disembarkation either at Portus Misenus or not far beyond that place. Perhaps Ovid made no clear distinction between the several localities, at times; Propertius confuses them—Baiae, Misenum, Portus Iulius—when he describes (3.18) the place where Marcellus died, which was Baiae:

clausus ab umbroso qua alludit pontus Averno
fumida Baiarum stagna tepentis aquae,
qua iacet et Troiae tubicen Misenus arena,
et sonat Herculeo structa labore via.

Of critical comment in editions of Vergil there is very little that bears on the question of the landing-place. Heyne was convinced that it was outside the Bay of Naples¹⁵:

¹⁰Against this interpretation it is to be noted that the use of *et* . . . *que* to correlate two members of a sentence, in the sense of both . . . and is rare, and is not attested for Ovid. Compare Lane, Latin Grammar, 1663, and Gildersleeve-Lodge, Latin Grammar, 476, 5, c.

¹¹For example, the Magnus edition (1914). Compare the note ad loc. in Jahn's edition (1832).

¹²Excursus III of Book 6.

¹³This possibility was suggested by Professor F. G. Moore.
¹⁴Postquam is <i. e. Aeneas>, multa maria permensus, appulsus sit ad Italiae promontorium, quod est in Baiano circa Avernus lacum, ibique gubernatorem Misenum, morbo assumptum, sepultum ab eo.—I give the text of F. Pichlmayr (in the Teubner Series, 1911).

¹⁵This word refers to Pithecussae.

Infra Cumas, sub promontorium Misenum, appellunt Troiani. Eo enim ducunt omnia, ut non in Baiano, quod vulgo creditur, quodque alias narratum ex Aurelio Victore¹⁶ intelligitur, sed in Cumano littore Troianorum classis stationem habuerit. Nec aliter Ovidius tradit, ubi Vergili vestigiis insistit.

It is interesting to note here that a hundred years ago the belief was prevalent ("vulgo creditur") that the landing-place was in *Baiano*, a belief which seems to have disappeared pretty generally¹⁷, perhaps through Heyne's influence. But after all Heyne states no arguments: "omnia" should be itemized, if it is to have weight. Nor does he explain how he understands the passage of Ovid. In another place (Excurus IV of Book 6) he quotes the passage from Dionysius which was mentioned above, and says:

Virgilius discessit ab aliorum fide etiam in hoc, quod non in Baiano sinu sed ultra Misenum versus Cumas classem appulsam esse voluit.

Here Heyne acknowledges that the tradition as given elsewhere than in the Aeneid is against his own view.

Norden makes no direct statement, in his edition of Aeneid 6, of his opinion in the matter of the landing-place, but there are hints that he took Misenum to be the place. Commenting (on page 114) on the words *pars densa ferarum tecta rapit silvas* (7-8), he says that, at the place where the Trojans sought water and wood, in Vergil's time rich men were building luxurious country-houses, a Latin colony was founded, and a naval station was established. In describing Misenum, Beloch (190) says something very similar to this, mentioning the same three characteristics; and, since Norden used Beloch's Campanian as a topographical guide¹⁸, it is a safe inference that Norden's description refers to Misenum. This view of his opinion is corroborated by a part of his note on verses 156-157: "Von Cumae nach Misenum führten und führen noch heute zwei Wege". This information is supplied by the editor at the moment when Aeneas, leaving the Sibyl's cave, started on the way toward his fleet, and is appropriate only if Aeneas was going to Misenum.

Henry appears to have believed that the place was Baiae; this is an inference from a note in his Aeneidea, on Book 5. 813-814:

Tutus quos optas portus accedet Avernus.

Unus erit tantum amissum quem gurgite quaeres.

Henry recommends Servius's punctuation of this passage—full stop after *accedet*—and upholds the superiority of this arrangement by the following argument:

It strikes me that a Roman poet was more likely to go out of his way to find a less ominous appellation for a veritable *portus Avernus*, had he been under the necessity of speaking of one, than to go out of his way in search of so unlucky an equivocal for the port of Baiae.

¹⁶The reference here is to the passage quoted above in this paper from the *Origo Gentis Romanae*, ascribed to Aurelius Victor.

¹⁷However, a friend of the writer of this paper contributes the information that an Italian guide affirmed that Aeneas landed at Baiae. See also what is said below of Norden and Henry.

¹⁸He says so in his commentary (page 116, bottom).

The sentence is mazy, but the impression it conveys is that Baiae would not appear so suddenly upon the scene unless in Henry's mind the thought of Aeneas landing in Campania had been connected with Baiae. It may be recalled here that, when Agrippa constructed "a veritable *portus Avernus*", by joining Lucrinus to Avernus, the harbor received a very auspicious name, *Portus Iulius*.

We may sum up thus. There is direct testimony in Dionysius of Halicarnassus and in the *Origo Gentis Romanae*, in Ovid, too, unless the text is altered, that the legend told that Aeneas disembarked at *Portus Misenus* or near it; there is the historical fact that actual travellers to Cumae landed at Puteoli and Baiae; in Vergil's account there is nothing that forces the conclusion that he had in mind a place on the outer coast, and there is one phrase—*inter saxa*—which suggests the *Portus Misenus*. It is at least possible that Vergil followed the same form of the Aeneas legend as Dionysius and Ovid.

THE BREARLEY SCHOOL,
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SUSAN FOWLER

REVIEWS

Roman Essays and Interpretations. By W. Warde Fowler. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press (1920). Pp. 290.

The Carmen Saeculare of Horace. By Tenney Frank. American Journal of Philology 42.324-330 (October, 1921).

Horace Carm. I 14. By Walter Leaf. <The English> Journal of Philology 34.283-289 (1918).

Since no review can do justice to such a volume as Dr. Fowler's book, I set down, in very particular fashion, its contents. After certain items are added below, in square brackets, references to the periodicals in which the articles were originally published.

Part I. The Latin History of the Word *Religio*, 7-15 [Transactions of the Congress for the History of Religions, 1908]; The Original Meaning of the Word *Sacer*, 15-24 [Journal of Roman Studies, 1911]; *Mundus Patet*, 24-37 [ibidem, 1912]; The Oak and the Thunder-God, 37-41; The *Toga Praetexta* of Roman Children, 42-52; Was the Flaminia Dialis Priestess of Juno?, 52-55 [The Classical Review 9.474-476]; The Origin of the Lar Familiaris, 56-64; *Fortuna Primigenia*, 64-70; Passing Under the Yoke, 70-75 [The Classical Review 27.48-51]; Note on Privately Dedicated Roman Altars, 75-79; The Pontifices and the Ferae: The Law of Rest-days, 79-90.

Part II. On the Date of the Rhetorica ad Herennium, 91-99; The *Lex Frumentaria* of Gaius Gracchus, 99-110 [English Historical Review, 1905]; The *Carmen Saeculare* of Horace and its Performance, June 3d, 17 B. C., 111-126 [The Classical Quarterly 4.145-155]; On the *Laudatio Turiae* and its Additional Fragment, 126-138 [The Classical Review 19.261-266]; An Unnoticed Trait in the Character of Julius Caesar, 138-145 [The Classical Review 30.68-71].

Part III. Ancient Italy and Modern Borneo: A Study in Comparative Culture, 146-165 [Journal of Roman Studies, 1916]; *Parallela Quaedam*, 165-181 (the items here are The Plague of Locusts in 125 B. C.: And a Modern Parallel, 165-167; Plagues of Field-Voles [*Arvicola arvalis*] in Ancient and Modern Times,

167-169; Armati Terram Exercent: And a Modern Parallel, 169-170; The Disappearance of the Earliest Latin Poetry: And a Modern Parallel, 171-173; Roman *Leges Datae* and English Enclosure Awards, 173-178; The Great Serpent of the River Bagradas, 178-181).

Part IV. Vergiliana (the items are The Swans in *Aeneid* I. 390 ff., 181-182; The Harbour in *Aeneid* III. 533-6, 182-183; Note on Dido and Aeneas, 183-188; Note on *Aeneid* V. 5-6, 189-190; *Aeneid* V. 197 [on the word *nefas*], 190; Notes on *Aeneid* IX, X, XI, 181-209; Notes on Horace, Odes, III 1-6, 210-229; Berthold Georg Niebuhr: A Sketch, 229-250; Theodor Mommsen. His Life and Work, 250-268; The Tragic Element in Shakespeare's Julius Caesar, 286-287; Index of Latin Words and Phrases, 289-290.

Dr. Fowler looks on the toga praetexta as a holy garment worn by priests during the time of sacrifice, and by magistrates who had the right to sacrifice on behalf of the State. As worn by children too, it was originally a holy garment, for the children of *ingenui*, both boys and girls, were regularly employed in the household as ministrants attending on daily sacrifice (43).

In the article on the Lex Frumentaria of Gaius Gracchus, by which it was proposed that grain should be sold in the capital to any one applying for it, at the rate of 6½ asses per modius, as against the average price, 16 asses or a denarius, Dr. Fowler defends the law against the strictures of modern historians and economists. He sums up, on page 104, thus:

... Gracchus's object was... (1) to prevent sudden and violent fluctuations in the market-price of corn, which were dangerous both politically and economically; (2) to stimulate the production of corn in Italy, in harmony with the spirit of his brother's agrarian law, and in immediate connexion with his own; to keep the agricultural population on the land, and to facilitate the transport of their produce and its safe warehousing at Rome.

In the paper on the Carmen Saeculare Dr. Fowler takes issue with the view, advocated for instance by Mommsen and Wissowa, that the hymn was sung in procession. He takes exception, also, to the view set forth in Jordan-Hülsemann, *Römische Topographie* 3.72, that the temple of Apollo lay at the Northeastern corner of the Palatine Hill. He believes that the real site was where the temple of Jupiter Victor is generally supposed to be, overlooking the Forum Boarium and the Circus Maximus, whence there is an uninterrupted view over the Campus Martius, with the Capitol in the foreground a little to the right—a point of importance, he says, for his interpretation of the Carmen (119).

... Here was space enough for a grand area enclosing the temple to north, south, and west, and in this open space a few very simple movements would enable the chorus to command every other site of religious or historical interest in the city, now adorned in all directions with new or restored buildings.

On pages 119-123, Dr. Fowler holds that the first eighteen stanzas of the hymn might have been rendered on this site; the nineteenth and last stanza, he believes, was sung only on the Capitoline Hill, at the performance of the Hymn there. In the Area Capi-

tolina the choirs would have had ample space for evolutions, and from it at the same time they would have been able to see almost every other important religious site in Rome.

On this Capitoline site, then, says Dr. Fowler, as the choirs sang the first three stanzas, they would be facing the new temple of Apollo, which was in full view across the Forum Boarium and the Velabrum.

... The site of the Tarentum across the Campus Martius was of course visible from the southern end of the area, and here the choirs would be during the next five stanzas, while they would wheel again to the west when they reached the second Apolline passage. They would be drawn up in front of the great temple during the Capitoline stanzas that follow, and would wheel about once more for the three Apolline ones with which the singing had concluded on the Palatine (124).

The final nineteenth stanza, summing up the whole performance, seems to Dr. Fowler extremely clever, because Horace contrives to bring in Jupiter as after all the presiding genius of Rome, and yet manages to make the final touch an Apolline one, as would in fact be fitting on a day especially dedicated to the Augustan Apollo. Phoebus and Diana are not here alluded to as the controllers of the destinies of Rome, but as the deities in whose honor the choirs, now about to disperse, have learnt and sung this hymn.

Dr. Fowler sums up as follows (126):

... Augustus chose the two finest religious sites in Rome, from each of which everything could be seen that was to be alluded to in the hymn, for the complete performance; so far yielding to popular feeling and conviction as to fix the second and last performance for the Capitoline, the real religious centre of the whole empire; but astutely taking care that the interest of this third day's entertainment should be closely connected with himself and the new régime, and that the religious colouring of the ritual and the hymn should be emphatically Apolline.

Professor Frank's discussion of this poem is most ingenious and distinctly interesting. By a special study of the caesura in it, he sought to determine which stanzas were sung by the boys alone, which by the girls alone, and which were sung antiphonally, and, finally, to prove who are the chief deities of the poem. He thinks that lines containing a 'trochaic or a feminine' caesura (compare 19 siderum regina | bicornis audi) were especially appropriate, by reason of their "smooth, flowing, and soft effects", to the maidens. He believes, therefore, that a reasonable rule for dividing the stanzas between the boys and the girls is this:

... stanzas sung by youths alone have the "masculine" caesura, stanzas sung by maidens alone one or more trochaic caesuras in each stanza, ensemble stanzas also contain trochaic caesuras.

His final division is as follows: stanzas 1-2, ensemble, choral parodos; 3, youths; 4-5, maidens; 6-8, youths; 9-11, ensemble (antiphonal mesodos); 12, youths; 13, maidens; 14-16, ensemble; 17, youths; 18, maidens; 19, ensemble.

Further, Professor Frank maintains that, by this division, the central place, the place of honor, is given

to Apollo and Diana. He is thus, on this point, in full agreement with Dr. Fowler.

The unnoticed trait in the character of Julius Caesar is (140) "a tendency, common at the time, to take an interest in ancient procedure, especially that of religion". For example, in his account of the civilization of the Gauls, Caesar gives great prominence to religion (B. G. 6.13-19). Even to this day this account forms a considerable part of what we know of early Celtic religion.

I wish there were space to consider the article on The Disappearance of the Earliest Latin Poetry. I may, however, note that, in The Classical Quarterly 15.31-37 (January, 1921), there was an article, by Miss (?) Ethel Mary Steuart, entitled The Earliest Narrative Poetry of Rome. The author emphasizes the evidence for the existence, prior to Livius Andronicus, of a school of native Italian poetry, consisting of short quasi-lyrical eulogies and dirges, poems of a mythological religious character, half-legendary, half-historical lays, and, finally, poems dealing with authenticated historical characters. She thus harks back to the position of Niebuhr and Macaulay, set forth so entertainingly by the latter in the Preface to his Lays of Ancient Rome. I have learned recently, also, that, some years ago, there was accepted at the University of Wisconsin a Dissertation, by E. A. Hooton, called The Pre-Hellenistic Stage in the Evolution of the Literary art at Rome. This has, however, not yet been published.

In the Note on Dido and Aeneas (183-188), Dr. Fowler takes issue with the tendency of modern times to throw the whole blame upon Aeneas. He thinks of Aeneas as, throughout the Aeneid, the impersonation of family life and affection, and of the other ties which bind civilized men together, friendship, hospitality, good faith, and justice. He next reminds us that, in the traditional form of the Dido story, the queen had resolved to remain a widow after the murder of her husband, Sychaeus; therefore, in order to escape the suit of Iarbas, with which her own subjects urged her to comply, she erected a great pile of wood near her palace, and, setting fire to it, threw herself into the flames. This story Vergil altered (185), "in order to contrast the fury of ungovernable love, love of the animal type, with the settled order, affection, and obedience, of the Roman family life". On page 187 he says:

Vergil had good reason to draw this terrible picture of an infatuated woman. In his own day Cleopatra had poisoned the mind of one, if not two, great Romans, and the escape of Augustus from her charms was a matter of enormous importance in the history of Rome, as all his contemporaries knew. . . .

In the Notes on Horace, Dr. Fowler deals with the famous first six odes of Book 3. He takes issue with the view, first suggested by Mommsen, and elaborated by Professor von Domaszewski, of Heidelberg, that we are to interpret these poems historically. Von Domaszewski, for instance, held that the poems were written at one time and with one object, to illustrate

the inscription on the shield of gold set up in Augustus's honor, in 27 B. C., by Senate and people.

This inscription testified to the *virtus*, *clementia*, *iustitia*, and *pietas*, of the Princeps; and Domaszewski sees in these odes, (except the first, of which he says nothing) a sermon or sermons on these Augustan virtues; viz. two on Virtus, three on Iustitia, four on Clementia, five on Virtus again, and six on Pietas.

Dr. Fowler refuses to believe that the six poems were written at one time. He even goes so far as to suggest that the first ode was placed where it is when the six odes were collected. He suggests that its first stanza was added at this time; he notes that the ode might commence "quite naturally and after Horace's familiar manner with the fifth line". All students of Horace will find Dr. Fowler's further discussion of these odes intensely interesting. There is space here, however, to dwell only upon one matter—his discussion of the third ode. This ode is concerned, he holds, not as Domaszewski thought, with *iustitia*, but with constancy of purpose. The words *tenax propositi*, Dr. Fowler insists, are really the text of the discourse. The speech of Juno (18-68) is a lesson in the virtue of constancy in right doing in spite of all opposition and all calamity. It is a lesson with special application to a question deeply interesting at that time to the Roman world (217-218).

This is the question of transferring the capital from Italy to the eastern Mediterranean, whether to Byzantium as Mommsen suggested, or to Alexandria, or to the plains of Troy. Owing to the want of contemporary history and correspondence, we are almost entirely in the dark about popular feeling in Rome when these odes were written; we have to guess it mainly from the poetry of the day, which may be a pretty sure guide, but one certainly difficult of interpretation. We must date this ode in the year 27 B. C. or somewhat later, since the name Augustus is found in it, which was assumed in January of that year. There must just at this time have been a feeling, as we know there was at the end of the life of Julius, that a change of capital was possible or even imminent; once again attention had been specially directed to the East for two or more years, and for long past it had been felt that the eastern half of the Empire was now of much greater moment in many ways than the western. The 'Pan-Romans' of that day would like to be rid of the old republican associations of the city, and at the same time to be nearer the centre of the Empire. Pompey's conquests, as well as his great imperial powers, had wrought a great change, both political and geographical, and it was now realized more forcibly than ever before that for intellect, philosophy, even religion, Rome would have to draw upon the East, not as yet from the comparatively uncivilized West, nor even from Africa. The bilingual educated class was at this time showing a distinct tendency to drift from Rome towards the pleasant cities of the Asiatic coast, as the reader of Horace's odes will have noticed in the seventh ode of the first book.

Dr. Fowler admits (218) that it does not at all follow that Augustus had any such plan in his mind; but there are, he says, strong indications that the Romans suspected it. At this point he refers to a paper by Dr. Walter Leaf. It is published in the English Journal of Philology 34 (1918), 283-289, under the title Horace Carm. I 14. Before, however,

I turn to that paper I want to call attention to the fact that Dr. Fowler suggests that the beauty and the fervor of Book 8 of the *Aeneid*, of which the theme is 'Aeneas at the site of Rome', may have been inspired by the fear of losing the capital; he seems to see the same feeling in Horace, *Odes* 3. 5. 12(218-219):

The grand speech which Livy puts into the mouth of Camillus at the end of his fifth book, also probably written in these years, urging the people not to move from their own glorious site to that of the captured Veii, was surely inspired by the same motive. I have strong feeling, of which I have more to say directly, that there is more than an accidental analogy between these chapters of Livy and the *Odes* I am discussing. I think that Horace and Livy must have known each other and compared ideas. There is no doubt that Livy was writing his first decade while the first three books of the *Odes* were being put together; and two literary Italians must have known something of each other at Rome.

The matter was discussed, I may note, by Robert Burn, *Rome and the Campagna*, 1-2 (London, 1876), in terms largely anticipating Dr. Fowler's treatment.

The papers on Niebuhr and Mommsen are immensely interesting. We ought to have more papers of this sort. They make me think of the paper on Johan Nicolai Madvig, by H. Nettleship, in his *Lectures and Essays*, Second Series, 1-23 (Oxford University Press, 1895). One may recall the *Memoirs* of various scholars, prefixed to collected editions of their work: e. g. the memoir of Henry Nettleship, prefixed to the book just referred to; of W. Y. Sellar, by Andrew Lang, prefixed to Sellar's *Horace and the Elegiac Poets*; of James Adam, by his wife, Adela Marion Adam, prefixed to his book, *The Religious Teachers of Greece*; of Mortimer Lamson Earle, by Sidney G. Ashmore, in *The Classical Papers of Mortimer Lamson Earle*. Mention may be made, too, of the book by W. W. Jackson, entitled *Ingram Bywater, The Memoir of an Oxford Scholar, 1840-1914* (see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* II.110).

It remains to consider briefly the paper by Dr. Walter Leaf, on Horace, *Carmina* 1.14, referred to above.

Dr. Leaf accepts, as the beginning of all criticism of Horace, *Carm.* 1.14, the express statement of Quintilian (8.8.44), that this Ode is an allegory, and that Horace is concerned primarily in reality with the Ship of State. He believes that no fresh light upon the interpretation of the Ode has been thrown since Orelli's day. Orelli sums up the views set forth up to his time.

To interpret the Ode, says Dr. Leaf, we must answer two questions: (1) Why is the Roman State called a 'Pontic Keel?', (2) and why is there special danger for her in the channel between the Cyclades?

A poet cannot venture upon allegory without weighing every word and assuring himself that it has a definite reference to his hidden meaning. But he may have it in view to obscure that meaning for reasons of his own. Horace may have wished the careless reader to be misled by the parallel of Pontica and Cyclades with Bithyna and Carpathium; but if he was really writing an allegory to be understood only by the *συνετοί*—and that is presumably the case here—he must have

been all the more anxious in the choice of words which should lead those for whom he was writing to see through the veil. And I believe that it is still possible to understand, even for us.

To reach such understanding, Dr. Leaf tells us that we must consider, in connection with our Ode, the prophecy of Juno in Horace, *Carm.* 3.3.57-60:

Sed bellicosis fata Quiritibus
hac lege dico, ne nimium pii
rebusque fidentes avitae
tectae velint reparare Troiae.

Now, in this stanza, Dr. Leaf sees "a denial, almost semi-official", of the correctness of the intention, ascribed, by gossip (Suetonius, *Julius* 79.3), to Julius Caesar, and by similar rumors, to Augustus, to transfer the seat of Roman government from Rome, perhaps to Alexandria, Troas, or to Ilium.

The earlier poem, I believe, deals with the same theme; it is a covert but passionate protest against the removal of the seat of government—passionate because the danger is sincerely believed to be a real one, and covert because it would not be safe to utter an open attack upon the policy which to all appearance was seriously entertained by Augustus.

Dr. Leaf notes (285-286) that certain actions of Octavianus—for instance, the fact that for two full years after Actium he never went to Rome, but spent nearly his whole time in Egypt or on the West coast of Asia Minor—would lend support to the view that he purposed to transfer the seat of government from Rome. Indeed, such a purpose might even be a statesman-like purpose, the outcome of a desire to unite the Eastern and the Western halves of the Empire, by fixing the seat of government somewhere on the borders of the two, say at Ilium, the legendary birthplace of Rome. Horace's Ode is, to Dr. Leaf's mind, perfectly adapted to voice the fears concerning such a transfer (287):

The battered ship of state is represented as having reached the harbour-bar, and as being about to enter when there is a sudden danger that it will set out to sea again, unfitted and unseaworthy. That is exactly the state of feeling which must have prevailed at Rome when it was learnt that Augustus was not coming further than Brundisium. Horace implores the ship boldly to put into port—let the government be once more settled, and settled finally, in the old capital.

We get now an answer to our first question. By this expression, says Dr. Leaf, Horace says in effect, 'I admit that you have become a Pontic power'. But, he goes on to say, the phrase 'Pontic power' is after all no more than a grand phrase; in times of stress, policy must not be built on fine phrases alone. Those who upheld Augustus's purpose, not Horace, could call the Ship of State 'Idaeon', for "An Idaeon ship would be sailing home, if it were bound for Ilium, and that is where Horace is eager that it should not sail" (287).

We have also the answer to our second question—that about the channels of the Cyclades. They point straight to Ilium; through them every ship bound from Italy for the Hellespont must pass. There-

fore, when Horace says, 'Avoid the Cyclades', he means 'Do not sail for Ilium'.

Dr. Leaf believes that we must interpret Horace, Carm. 1.15, especially the opening lines, in close connection with 1.14 (287-288). In these opening lines we have Idaean ships at once, "with all prominence; the purpose of the ode is to bring out to the full the disasters which did once follow a voyage of Idaean ships to Ilium; the moral is obvious". Further, says Dr. Leaf, the narrow seas, indicated by *freta*, "can, for a ship on a voyage from Sparta to Ilium, only be the very channels mentioned in the preceding line, the *aequora interfusa Cycladas*".

Dr. Leaf then concludes that the poems were composed at the time of Augustus's visit to Brundisium in the winter of 31-30, and express "the incredulous indignation with which the Romans heard that he was to sail away again without coming to Rome" (we must, he says, set a question mark, not an exclamation point, after *fluctus*, in 1.14.2). The two poems may first have been circulated privately among sympathizers of Horace's position. If the two odes should become general property, the ode on Nereus (1.15) might well pass in those days, as it has always passed since, for a purely mythological poem on the old theme of Troy. If asked questions about 1.14, Horace might say (288),

with an air of extreme innocence, "Of course, the ship is that on which Caesar has just arrived in Brundisium, and in which I hear, with the greatest alarm for his personal safety, that he means to sail back to Samos. It is an appeal to him not to run such a risk". The ode would thus be a pendant to the other in which he appeals to Virgil's ship to bring him safe home. . . .

Dr. Leaf reminds us that the voyage from Samos to Brundisium was stormy and dangerous; the return voyage through the narrow seas and lee-shores of the Cyclades was full of risks.

To know that the emperor was coming at such a season had been to Horace a distressing anxiety; his one desire was the affectionate longing that such a danger should not be undertaken again.

In connection with all this Dr. Leaf urges that *occupa*, in verse 2, might mean 'cling', as well as 'enter'. I quote Dr. Leaf's concluding paragraph:

When Augustus returned to Rome eighteen months later, in August 29 B. C., the policy of any removal of the capital was finally abandoned, and there was no longer any harm in publishing the ode. But Rome did not forget the fright it had had, and it is evident that later on it was worth while to let Horace, in the series of odes on patriotism written with the approval of Augustus, put an end once and for all to rumours, by placing a denial of them in the mouth of Juno. But the first expression of alarm, with its double meaning, remains, when properly interpreted, a pretty piece of wit, a real "*curiosa felicitas*".

I have no doubt that it will be very interesting to others, at it was to me, to find two scholars arriving, independently, at the same conclusion, as Dr. Fowler and Professor Frank did with respect to the Carmen Saeculare, and as Dr. Fowler and Dr. Leaf did with respect to the much discussed passage of Horace, Carm. 3.3. Dr. Leaf's bringing of Carm. 1.15 into relation with this matter is most ingenious.

C. K.

Pictures from Roman Life. Bulletin of the Extension Division, Indiana University, Vol. VI, No. 4. By Lillian Gay Berry.

After a brief discussion of the importance of the visual aids to education, the author lists the slides available for distribution through the Extension Division. These sets consist of 51 slides on The Home, 51 on Dress, Education, and Travel, 54 on Amusements, 43 on Industrial Arts, Crafts, and Trades, 47 on Art, and 70 on Caesar's Gallic War. Good brief lists of books on Roman Life and on Caesar, suitable for the High School Library, conclude the pamphlet.

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

EVAN T. SAGE

The Teaching of High School Latin. Maryland School Bulletin, Vol. III, No. 5 (September, 1921). Issued by the State Department of Education, Baltimore, Maryland.

This is the most recent State syllabus. The point of view from which it was prepared is indicated in the Foreword, by Superintendent Albert S. Cook:

Latin has a place in the high schools but it will confirm itself in that place only if the teacher handles it in a rational, human, up-to-date way, thinking at least as much about his manner as about his matter it is hoped that this pamphlet will serve not merely as a quantitative syllabus, but as a working manual of method as well. . . .

Chapter I deals with the value of Latin. The various values are considered under three heads, practical, cultural, and disciplinary. There is no mention of any challenge of the doctrine of formal discipline, nor would the teacher be aware that the question of transfer of training is still open, or even that such a question exists at all.

The four-year Latin course is then outlined year by year. Considerable attention is paid to word-study in the first year. Additional material is specified for the second year, especially a study of suffixes, and the increase in English vocabulary through the study of derivatives is prescribed for the third and fourth years as well. The vocabulary is that of Professor Lodge. The reading-matter prescribed is as follows: Caesar, Gallic War, 1-4, or their equivalent, but without mention of Nepos or any easier material; Cicero, Cat. 1-4 (two of these may be read at sight), Manilian Law, and Archias; Vergil, Aeneid 1-4, (at least two books are to be read at sight). Such a course seems too rigid to get the best results for either teacher or pupil. Perhaps, too, the requirements in syntax are too heavy for the first year. There is no suggestion that the pupil who will not continue Latin beyond the first or the second year should receive any special consideration. Satisfactory attention is paid to content throughout.

Chapter III deals in a helpful fashion with Methods and Special Devices for the four years. The all-important point in the first year is declared to be mastery of forms; time-tests are recommended as a

means of securing this mastery. The Direct Method is thought very helpful, especially for young students. Sight translation is not mentioned until the second year. Many means of vitalizing the work are suggested.

A good Bibliography is given in Chapter IV.

The Syllabus is in part the work of a committee of High School Teachers headed by Miss M. Jane Alford, Towson High School, under the direction of Mr. Samuel M. North, State Supervisor of High Schools. Some teachers will find it unduly conservative in its emphasis on syntax, its postponement of sight translation, its vocabulary, and in its restriction of the range of reading-matter. Whether the amount of word-study prescribed can be satisfactorily done along with the other requirements is uncertain. However, the syllabus seems to represent the farthest advance on which all teachers will agree. The absence of a definitely prescribed vocabulary will please some and offend others, and the weakest point seems to be its rigid adherence to the traditional reading-matter. Many teachers will prefer, and many pupils will need, some easier and more diversified material at the beginning of the second year.

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EVAN T. SAGE

Latin Vocabulary for the Third and Fourth Years.

By Elmer E. Bogart. Boston: Allyn and Bacon. 40 cents.

This little book is designed to aid in the mastery of vocabulary, which is regarded as essential. The words prescribed for the third and fourth years by the New York State Syllabus in Latin are included, with the addition of 34 words for the fourth year. The arrangement according to frequency of occurrence is a valuable feature. In Part V are grouped words likely to be confused (such as *accedo*, *accido*, and *arcesso*). The book is of very convenient size for easy use, and has, I am informed, proved very helpful. Suggestions as to the use of the book are given.

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EVAN T. SAGE

Caesar's Gallic War, Books VI and VII. Partly in the Original and Partly in Translation. By R. W. Livingstone and C. E. Freeman, Oxford: Clarendon Press (1921). Pp. 159. \$1.00¹.

Sallust, The Jugurthine War. Partly in the Original and Partly in Translation. By H. E. Butler. Oxford: Clarendon Press (1921). Pp. 151. \$1.60.

The Catilinarian Conspiracy From Sallust and Cicero. Partly in the Original and Partly in Translation. Edited by H. E. Butler. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press (1921).

The Caesar volume follows the same plan as the earlier edition of Books 4-5, and is executed with the

same skill. The notes are brief and concise, without Grammar references, and probably give less of explanation than most American Schools will need. The historical notes are of great value; for instance, there are suggestive comparisons of the strategy and tactics of Caesar and Vercingetorix that can not fail to arouse the interest of every boy. One bit of advice (from the Introduction) seems especially pertinent:

When you come to the closing chapters of Bk. VII try (there is nothing more difficult) to think yourself back into the minds of those who were engaged in the fighting of that long-past autumn. See the hill of Alesia and the country round; . . . Do this not only with the siege of Alesia but with every incident in these books, and you will learn what historical imagination is. Another point, akin to this. Always in reading, see the scene; any one who reads Caesar and can draw ought to be able to make an illustrated edition of his book.

I wish every one who reads Caesar, whether as teacher or pupil, would follow this advice.

The place of the Jugurtha in our Schools is doubtful. The pupils in our Secondary Schools are hardly able to read Sallust, and our College students will need an edition with somewhat fuller notes and Introduction, and without Vocabulary. However, as the editor explains, the teacher should supply such information as can not be found in the notes. The Introduction is, as in the other volumes of this series, brief, but well-written and full of suggestions: the pages on the purpose of the essay and the author's style seem especially good. In the Vocabulary, in keeping with Sallust's archaizing tendency, the spellings *convorto*, *maxumus*, and *—undus* (in the gerund and gerundive) are used.

The volume on the Catilinarian Conspiracy is interesting. In the Introduction (5-25) there are accounts of the lives and the works of Cicero and of Sallust, and a discussion of the styles of the two authors. The Latin text and the translated passages cover pages 29-84. Of these, pages 29-70 are devoted to Sallust, 71-84 to the First Catilinarian Oration of Cicero. There is a Vocabulary (107-127). This little volume ought to prove handy and helpful to many.

There would seem to be a real place for books of this type, and it is hoped that there may be free use of these books, to give the plan a thorough trial.

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EVAN T. SAGE

British Museum Post Cards: Sets 46, 47, 48, 49. Oxford University Press. 50 cents per set.

These sets consist of 12-16 post cards each on the following subjects: (46) Greek Terracottas; (47) Greek and Roman Reliefs; (48) Greek and Roman Statues; (49) Portraits of the Roman Emperors. The originals are in all cases in the British Museum. A brief description accompanies each set. They are well executed, and their low price makes them especially useful.

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¹For a review of an earlier book, dealing with Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, Books IV and V, by Mr. John W. Spaeth, Jr., see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 13, 190-191.